2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Mbaya SK11

tude 22° to latitude 19° S. Presumably, they were in this general area when first discovered by the Spaniards. The Guaná at that time consisted of the following subdivisions: Layaná, Niguecactemic, Tereno, Echoaladi, and the Kinikinao (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, pp. 239–240). Estimates of the total Guaná population vary. At the end of the eighteenth century Aguirre and Azara gave the total Guaná population as 8,200. The Mbayá also claimed this part of the Chaco as their home but, owing to their nomadic habits, ranged over a wider territory stretching all the way from the present site of Asunción to where Corumbá now stands. Labrador estimated the Mbayá as numbering between 7,000 and 8,000. During this period the Mbayá were composed of the following subdivisions: Cadiquegodí (Caduveo), Guetiadegodí, Apacachodegodegí, Lichagotegodí, Eyibogodegí, Gotocogegodegí, and Beutuebo (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 217–218).

Early writers, imbued with medieval conceptions of political status, claimed to see in this interdependence a relationship of lord and serf after the European pattern. This view on the basis of their own evidence appears exaggerated. A thoroughgoing system of social stratification based on cultural differences usually implies some degree of political unity and marked distinctions in status and social functions. The Mbayá never achieved political unity as a tribe nor did they exercise organized authority over the Guaná as a whole. To the end of the Mbayá remained organized on a "band" basis. The Guaná always had their own lands and villages, their own social organization and chiefs. The fact that the Mbayá chiefs married Guaná women of rank seems to imply a degree of equality between the chiefly classes of the two peoples.

Through intermarriage Mbayá chiefs are said to have become chiefs of Guaná settlements. Just how this political domination was achieved is not made clear. It is stated that the Guaná had female chiefs and that marriage with a Mbayá chief gave him rights over his wife's people. There is some doubt that the Guaná had female chiefs—the Terena, for instance, stoutly deny this. Even if this were true, it is not clear how a female chief's husband could usurp his wife's position in a tribe where female chieftainship was a culturally defined rule. When we learn that the

[P. 2-AJ

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
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rador, 1910–17, vol. 1, pp. 244–245). Rodrigues Prado describes the Mbayá as follows: "They are tall so that among them there are many men six and one-half feet in stature. They are well-built, well-muscled and with an almost indescribable capacity to endure hunger, thirst, and sustained effort" (Prado, 1908, p. 23).

Measurements taken among the Terena show the following summary results. Of 28 adult males measured, the average height was found to be 161.7 cm., average cephalic index 81.9, average facial index 85.4, and the average nasal index 76.1. Of 17 adult females, the average height was found to be 149.7 cm., average cephalic index 81.9, average facial index 83.9, and the average nasal index 77.3.[1]

The field work upon which this study is based was carried out during the months of December, January, and February of 1946–47. I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Fernando Altenfelder Silva, Mauricio Segal, and Juarez Lopes, the three students of the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica of São Paulo, who accompanied me to Mato Grosso and participated in the gathering of field data. I want to thank also Dr. Cyro Berlinck, the director, and Dr. A. R. Müller, the assistant director, of the Escola for making it possible for the three students to carry on field work. I want to thank, too, the director and field personnel of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, whose assistance in providing transportation and lodging helped to make the field trip a success.

I am particularly grateful to Dr. Donald Pierson, the director of the Brazilian Branch of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, for his kind cooperation in planning the field work and assisting in obtaining the equipment necessary for carrying out research in the field. Finally, I wish to thank Adelheid Hamburger for her industry and patience in organising and typing the field notes and the draft of this monograph.

[1] Prepared in cooperation with Dr. Emilio Willems, professor of anthropology, University of São Paulo.

[P. 5-B]

From this account it would appear that the Arawak-speaking people in this area were no longer using the large oval-shaped straw-thatched house which is still used by many of the Arawak-speaking people to the north. The covering used may have been made from "piri," a species of bulrush, which the Terena still use for making mats. This type of house was easy to dismantle and move, which may account for the probable abandonment of a more permanent type of structure.

Sánchez Labrador then goes on to describe the inside of the house:

> Each captain lives together with his brothers and their kin in one house. . . . Every house has five doors, in order that no one should get in each other's way. There is one door at each end and three on one side. When it rains, they cover their doorways with mats of rushes. Near the doors are the fireplaces and kitchens, which are no more than three movable stones, which act as a tripod on which they place their curiously worked pots. The food is cooked without any other spices than water. At the back of the house are the beds, that is, mats spread over the floor. It is astonishing that although these people grow cotton they do not use hammocks. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 276.]

In 1845, when the first groups of the Terena were already near Miranda in Brazil, we get a more definite description of Terena houses from Castelnau:

> In the village there are about 100 to 120 houses, joined to each other. They are long huts forming a circle around a big square. They resemble great "ranchos" covered with immense roofs of palm fronds. [Castelnau, 1850–59, vol. 2, p. 391.]

As to weapons and the interior of the house, Castelnau has this to say:

> The weapons of these people are spears with iron points, clubs, bows, and small arrows, and the "bodoque," an instrument which resembles a bow but has two cords united by a piece of leather in the middle on which stones are placed for shooting. In the inside of each hut there is a bed made of a platform of cane, supported by four stakes, which is covered with a hide of a bull. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 469.]

The passages just quoted give us a general description of Terena houses. The descriptions are nearly 100 years apart. Sánchez Labrador states that the occupants of the house slept on the floor, while Castelnau states that they slept on skin-covered platforms. The Terena say that they did not use hammocks until recently and that they slept on bamboo platforms, *ipé*, covered with skins or reed mats called *hitúri*.

* [work published in 1850-59, see bibliography, P. 69 -- Analyst]

leader of his moiety in the village, the leader at moiety council meetings (*itishovoti*), and the spokesman of his group in matters concerning the village and the tribe. The moiety chiefs do not appear to have had any judicial functions, their powers being limited to advising and warning quarrelsome individuals. The moieties were of equal status. 616 622

The succession of moiety chiefs was controlled partly by heredity and partly by the will of the people. When a chief died the son who resembled him most in personal characteristics was selected chief by the moiety-in-council. The people could also select the chief's brother or brother's son. Women were not eligible for chieftainship. This account of selecting chiefs is at variance with the rather elaborate rules of succession described by other writers (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, p. 310). [562] [114]

During everyday life there was nothing to distinguish members of one moiety from another. Their houses were not segregated nor were they set apart by differences in habits or everyday clothing. During ceremonials, however, the behavior of the two groups toward one another changed radically. The *shumonó* began to play tricks on the *sukirikionó* who, in a dignified manner, suffered all the tricks and insults which the *shumonó* heaped upon them. Some of the tricks played were the following: During daylight and in the presence of others a *shumonó* man would carry on rough sexual play with a woman from the opposite side; a *shumonó* would paint the face of a sleeping member of the *sukirikionó*, later giving him a mirror so that he could see himself; a group of *shumonó* would catch a member of the other side and pull and push him about in the center of the village; during feasts a *shumonó* would turn a dish of food over the head of a *sukirikionó;* sometimes a *shumonó* would put the contents of a butchered cow's stomach in a bladder and go about squeezing the bladder over the heads of the *sukirikionó*. License of this nature was limited strictly to ceremonial periods. A *sukirikionó* was not supposed to get angry and tried to shame the tricksters only by jokes and witty remarks in an effort to make himself appear superior. During ceremonies in which the moieties danced opposite each other, the members were distinguished by body painting; the *shumonó* would paint their bodies in horizontal lines of black and white while 616 796 831 616 796 302

[P. 28-A]

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Preface

101 In the area of scattered thickets and gallery forests /matas
133 de beira-rio/ of southern Mato Grosso there lives one of the
197 largest native groups in Brazil, the Terêna, of the Guaná fami-
161 ly and Aruak language. They number some 5,000 individuals, a very high figure for a Brazilian tribe, since most of them do not add up to a tenth of this.

463 Travelers on the Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil
[496] /Northwest Brazil Railroad/ that crosses the region can see them hoe in hand working on farm plots, on horseback tending the cattle of some fazendeiro, in the maintenance gangs of the railroad itself, or, more rarely, selling carandá palm fans at the stations.

177 It is difficult to identify them as Indians, since they dress, wear their hair, work, and live like the poor inlanders
142 /sertanejos/ of the region. One or another of them will present
191 a revealing Mongolian fold or the black, straight, stiff hair characteristic of the Indian and nearly all of them speak Portu-
162 guese with an odd accent. Yet even these traits fail to attract
171 much attention in a region where there are numerous Paraguayans and Bolivians with similar characteristics.

619 In order to find out whether they are natives, it is necessary to talk to them or listen to the local people, who are always prepared to identify them and to point out numerous negative peculiarities which, in their eyes, make them different and set them apart.

121 Indians of this sort, so little native, are not of interest
177 to the classical ethnologist, who is interested precisely in those untouched groups that best preserve the peculiarities of their
[114] traditional culture. For this very reason they have been the subject of very few studies. Yet they present as much, if not more interest than isolated tribes, because only their /10/ study will lead us to a better understanding of the process whereby tribal peoples are integrated into national societies and of

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121 177 how and why, as in the case of the Terêna, they resist merging into the regional population.

121 Studies of groups in an advanced stage of integration are also recommended for the contribution they can make to the handling of problems involving the survival of tribal populations. [114] [122] For this very reason, the Secção de Estudos of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the Museu de Índio operated by it, while we worked there with Eduardo Galvão and Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, was devoted chiefly to this type of study. The present work is the fruit of this orientation and gives a measure of the contribution that ethnology can make in the formulation and execution of a scientifically oriented native policy that could open new and better living perspectives to the native populations of Brazil.

121 177 619 The theme of this study is an analysis of the explicative possibilities of this rare Brazilian instance of a tribe which traveled practically the full road of acculturation while retaining a considerable populational rise, reached a high degree of participation in regional life, but in spite of this remains differentiated, identifying itself and being identified as native.

121 177 101 The explicative value of the Terêna case is all the greater because the Terêna are divided into various subgroups that present several variants of the general conditions of interaction of tribal groups with the national society. While some of the subgroups enjoyed a certain state of isolation and relative autonomy, others were compelled to live next to tribes that spoke different languages and also had different cultures, or even impelled to settle for the condition of tenant farmers or colonos on private fazendas. [648] [792] Official aid on the part of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, as well as the activities of missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, also operated in different degrees of intensity and continuity and in various ways from group to group, giving rise to variants of great explicative interest. Thus, their study showed in what way the various forces of compulsion that affected the process of the integration

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121 of the Terêna into the regional society acted on the uniform
177 base represented by the tribal culture.

114 Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira did not have an easy job,
121 because /11/ there are not many studies of this type to serve
177 as precedents and, also, because these Indians have lived for two centuries in such close connection with the regional society that they have undergone all the vicissitudes of the latter's formation and settlement in the region, and they naturally present, in their way of life, many characteristics that can only be explained by the specific experiences that befell them by virtue of this connection. In these circumstances, contrary to traditional ethnological study, which does not deal with historical analysis, the author here had to cope with the task of reconstituting the living process whereby the Terêna Indians got to be what they now are, so as to distinguish what is due to tribal culture from what is due to contact situations in their process of integration into the national society.

121 In his study we follow the various Guaná groups, including
177 the Terêna, as they leave the maze of the Chaco tribes, deeply
[101] influenced by them, especially by their suzerains, the Mbayá-Guaikuru, but retaining many characteristics of the ancient Aruak, such as devotion to agriculture, which years of co-existence with peoples of rudimentary economy did not diminish.

[648] Next we watch them free themselves from Mbaya suzerainty, only to fall into a much more oppressive subordination to the neo-Brazilians who were settling in the region in the
[464] early years of the 19th century. Since then they have partici-
[162] pated ever more actively in the life of the national society, as the labor force that built nearly all that has been achieved in the region and as the chief native matrix in the population of southern Mato Grosso.

177 This role was played chiefly by the Terêna woman.
562 Taken as wife or mistress by the first settlers, she gave them
563 children who, in the majority of cases, identified to such an extent with the white father that they forgot their tribal origin.

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177 But we have heard of exceptions, and among these we may in-
562 clude Marechal Rondon, who had a Terêna grandmother;
563 Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra, as comandante-geral of the Paraguayan border, lived for several years at Forte Coimbra with an Indian woman, very probably a Terêna, by whom he had children; and also, Visconde de Taunay, whose posthumously published memoirs tell how some of the best days of his life were those he spent at the time of the Paraguayan campaigns, with a Terêna Indian woman.

177 Through the last 150 years of interaction with our society,
619 /12/ the various Guaná groups melted together, and in our day there remains only one, the Terêna, who have come to gather all survivors of the tribe. Today they live as aldea Indians, fazenda Indians, city Indians, integrated into regional life as farm workers, as urban workers, sometimes as army reserve men, and even as voters. Ever less Indian. Ever more Brazilianized and, as such, at grips with the same social problems that confront the rural masses and the poorest urban populations of Mato Grosso. Yet differentiated from the average inlander and the common townsman through facing specific problems of adjustment that arise chiefly from the consciousness of a common tribal origin, from the loyalties that unite them, and from the awareness, perpetually sharpened by the regional population, that they are different.

● 114 I have devoted myself for several years to the study of
12/ the process of acculturation of the native populations of Brazil and of the role played by the native matrices in the formation of our people. For this reason I followed with the greatest interest the research of Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, and I was honored by the invitation to write the preface to his work. I do so with two-fold pleasure, first, in presenting an ethnologist who combines mastery and love of theory with an uncommon ability for direct observation in field research; secondly, because his book represents a significant contribution to one of the basic themes in Brazilian ethnology and is destined to

/12 cont./
/14 stimulate new studies that, some day, will make it possible
/12 to deal as a whole, with the necessary methodological strictness, with the problems of integration of the native populations into the national society.

Darcy Ribeiro
Rio de Janeiro, July, 1959

/13/ Introductory Note

/22 This work is the first report of our research on the Terêna Indians, carried out under the auspices of the Sacção de Estudos of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the Divasão de Antropologia of the Museu Nacional.

/21 The research was planned for the recording and interpretation of the process of social interaction that has occurred in a systematic and continuous way between the Terêna and the national society, with the aim of uncovering the socio-cultural mechanisms that have affected the less generalized and more specific process we call here assimilation (1).

1. Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1957:173.

/14 /21 The study of this process, however, first called for a general survey of the Terêna region, indispensable to the selection of the community where we should settle for a longer stay in the course of which we would carry out, in depth, our [101] ethnological research. While this "survey" took up a month and a half and provided us with useful though superficial knowledge of eleven local groups, the rest of the time (some four months or so) that we spent in Mato Grosso on that first trip, i.e., from July to November, 1955--was devoted to the aldea

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114 of Cachoeirinha, because this is one of the communities most
121 representative of the Terêna world, which we selected, of course,
101 after an analysis of the "survey" in question. In 1957, during the months of October and November, we returned to the field and were able to revisit seven of the eleven aldeas previously
[162] studied, including Cachoeirinha. In the following year, in July
[103] and August, we returned to Mato Gross with the aim of studying that portion of the Terêna population that, having left its communities of origin, /14/ lived in cities, such as Campo Grande,
[361] Aquidauana, and Miranda. At this time, we became acquainted with the twelfth Terêna community, known by the name of Aldeinha and situated in a suburban area of the city of Aquidauana.
114 Thus, altogether, we devoted about eight months to field research, divided in such a way as to allow for the preparation of two studies: one on O Processo de Assimilição dos Terêna, as a whole, and another referring specifically to the aldea of Cachoeirinha, set up along the lines of a "community study." As for this latter projected work, we hope to publish it some day, possibly following a new stay in the aldea, when we shall be able to ascertain the results of certain changes (2) that were foreshadowed in 1955

> 2. In a short communication (1958, b) we had the opportunity to deal at greater length with Cachoeirinha, studying it from a demographic and ecological point of view.

and that became apparent in 1957 and 1958.

114 The present essay is thus chiefly the result of the "survey"
121 referred to above, of the work of historical reconstruction (initiated in the first half of 1955), and of our third trip to the field. The data obtained in Cachoeirinha in the course of the first two trips, which were superior qualitatively and quantitatively to those gathered in the other aldeas, served as elements of comparison and control for the other material, since these last communities

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/2/ had to be subjected to a less systematic and less rigorous investi-
[14] gation in view of the short time available. Our stay in
[127] Cachoeirinha permitted us, above all, to work on the reconstruction of the traditional culture, though always with the help of bibliographic sources. Nevertheless, the basic procedure to which we resorted for the observation and recording of the social interaction between the Terêna and our society, coincides at various points with the "control-group" method mentioned by Audrey Richards and particularly suitable for comprehensive studies in so far as it permits us to single out the relative importance of each
[000] socio-cultural variable in the complex (3). /15/ With reference

3. "I adopted, as a result of experiments, a certain technique of observing and recording culture change. This process I have described in concrete detail. It can be roughly divided into three stages: (a) The making of a rough reconstruction of tribal life in pre-European days by comparing the narratives of the old men of the tribe with the facts of daily life actually observed. (b) The comparison of different communities, in this case villages, in which contact with Europeanism has been more or less extensive--the method of geographical sampling, in fact. (c) The collection of facts in the form of case-histories to show the extent and the variety of contact change." (1938:58; cf. also Fortes, 1938:67.) /Cited in English./

[12b]

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/28 while at the same time giving an idea of the type of culture change brought about by acculturation, in the face of the socio-cultural changes resulting from social mobility; finally, VIII) "The Mechanisms of Assimilation"--where are examined, on the basis of "case histories," the factors that facilitate /16/ assimilation and those that hinder or impede it, concluding with a brief recapitulation of the basic theses of the work.

/14 We cannot close this introductory note without mentioning that this research was carried out through the stimulation of Prof. Darcy Ribeiro, when we were working under his direction in the Secção de Estudos (Museu do Índio) of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Our reading of his yet unpublished work, "A assimilação dos índios no Brasil /The Assimilation of the Indian in Brazil/," was basic to the formulation of our central research problems, while at the same time our association was a factor that contributed much to the success of our research, both in his courses on ethnology, in which we had the opportunity to participate as his assistant, and in the daily observation of his indigenist activities during the years 1954 to 1956. With his acceptance of our invitation to write a preface to the present work, Prof. Darcy Ribeiro is once more lending his stimulus and support to our work, incurring our sincere gratitude.

Aside from Prof. Darcy Ribeiro, Prof. Oracy Nogueira and Dr. Joaquim Mattoso Câmara Jr. read the manuscript. The first five chapters, ready since 1957, were read by Dr. Florestan Fernandes, our former professor of sociology, who introduced us to the systematic study of the social sciences when we were studying at the Faculty of Philosophy, Sciences, and Letters of the University of São Paulo. We thank them all for their suggestions, of which we made use of only those that seemed pertinent, this being the reason why we are solely responsible for the ideas expressed here. To our colleagues in the Divisão, Maria Heloisa Fenelon Costa and Dalton Moreira de Araújo, we wish to give thanks for the collaboration they were always ready to offer, especially to the latter, who accompanied us on our last trip into the field and helped us

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/14 administer questionnaires and carry out interviews among the urbanized Terêna.

/22 We are deeply grateful to the employees of the 5.ª Inspetoria Regional of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, particularly to Messrs. Luiz Martins da Cunha and Américo Antunes de Siqueira, heads of the Cachoeirinha Native Post, our hosts, respectively, in 1955 and 1957-58, who, with their families, put us up for several months in their home, in the midst of one of the largest and most beautiful Terêna Indian
/23 /17/ aldeas. We wish to thank and pay homage to the Terêna population in the person of my fondly remembered friend, José Timóteo, "Captain" of Cachoeirinha, who died early in 1958, and to whose memory we dedicate this work.

/22 To Dr. José Cândido de Melo Carvalho, Diretor-geral of the Museu Nacional, and Prof. Luiz de Castro Faria, Diretor of the Divisão de Antropologia, our gratitude for having financed the final part of this research, as well as having made its continuation possible when we entered the institution which they direct. /Page 18 is blank./

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4. The last estimates of the S. P. I. gives the Kaiwá with about 2,500 individuals and the Kadiwéu with barely 200, whereas the Terêna population has been increasing steadily and now numbers approximately 4,000 individuals. (Taking into account here only the Indians living in aldeas on native reserves.)

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It should also be added that this group has a certain importance on the regional labor market, where its members exercise the most varied productive activities, from the extraction of the bark of the angico--which they do with great skill--to herding and, chiefly, farming. This demographic density, along with the demonstrated ability to adjust to the most diverse socio-cultural situations, confers on the Terêna the role of rural laborers par excellence, which has assured them a place in the regional economic structure.

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The Terêna thus represent one of the Guaná or Txané subgroups which, along with other tribes of this large Aruák group, appear as those Indians who contributed most to the formation of the Brazilian Southwest, both as producers of goods for the consumption of the first Portuguese and neo-Brazilian occupants of the region and as industrious manual labor on the fazendas that began to proliferate after the Paraguayan war, not to overlook the role they played in that conflict, when they were led to fight the Paraguayan army.

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Located in an area which has for some time been integrated into the national economy and which has for centuries been contended for by the Spanish and the Portuguese, the Paraguayans and the Brazilians, it is natural that the

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114 documentation on the experiences that the Guaná groups under-
177 went in contact with European civilization should meet the re-
quirements that might arise from a historiographic inquiry into
114 the relations between Indians and "whites." On the other hand,
as far as information of an ethnographic character are concerned,
we must admit the scarcity of the data, much less rich than
175 that concerning the Guaikurú groups. In spite of the fact that
the 18th-century bibliography on the Chaco groups, for example,
is regarded as being most satisfactory, to the point where
Alfred Metraux states that "the 18th century is the golden
age of ethnological literature on the Chaco" (5), we do not

5. 1946:206.

find, in relation to the Guaná, any work of the rank of a Dobrizhoffer or even a /21/ Labrador. This latter chronicler does give us a very good description of the Guaná, but--if we compared it with the section of his book, O Paraguai Católico /Catholic Paraguay/ that concerns the Mbayá-Guaikurú--we shall conclude that it is far inferior to the magnificent pages dedicated to the famous Indian horsemen. /Map 1 appears here./

But let us take the Terêna specifically. We shall see that the bibliography regarding them only begins with Castelnau, in 1844-45, and thus in the middle of the last century. We find brief references in the /22/ 18th century in Sanches Labrador, Azara, and Aguirre, which are nothing more than mere indications of location and population estimates. In the 16th and 17th centuries they are not even mentioned. The Cartas Anuas /Annual Letters/, for example, which are so rich in information on the many Chaco groups, tell us almost nothing about the circumstances of the Terêna in the 17th century. And Schmidel and Cabeça de Vaca, who went through the Paraguayan Chaco respectively in 1535-36 and 1543, limit themselves to a few brief remarks on the Guaná,

[Text continues on p. 16]

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178 19th century, /23/ only Castelnau and Bach can be regarded as good sources of ethnographic data, and this limits to an extraordinary degree the possibilities of /achieving/ a historical reconstruction of the traditional culture on the basis of the bibliographic sources. (7)

7. In a previous work (1957:175-176) we dealt with the consistency of the primary 18th-century and 19th-century sources in so far as the recording of interethnic and intertribal contact situations is concerned, taking the Guaná as a whole; it now remained to give an idea of the content of the sources, in so far as their usefulness for the ethnological study of the Terêna properly speaking is concerned.

● 114 The ethnologically valuable bibliography in our century opens with Max Schmidt's study (1901) of a group of remaining Guaná close to the city of Cuiabá; a linguistic work, with a fine introduction on the history of those groups, with a good use [640] of the bibliography available at the time. There follow the reports of the Rondon Commission (from 1904 on) and of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (from 1915 on), which are invaluable for an understanding of these Indians at the beginning of an entirely new situation characterized by the establishment [797] of a policy of protection. The second decade of this century is marked by the presence of the Protestant missionary, Alexander Rattray-Hay (1917-20) among the Terêna (of Bananal); his ethnological information--although not scientifically controlled--are of considerable help to us in understanding the native culture and the more immediate results of a religious proselytism in competition with the official protectionist policy.

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114 Baldus (1934) gives us an article on "A Successão Hereditária do Chefe entre os Terêno /Hereditary Succession to the Chieftainship among the Terêna/," worked out on the basis of the statements made by the "Captain" of Moreira aldea, close to
[829] Miranda; this same ethnologist was to give us another work, the fruit of his stay in Araribá aldea, in the state of São Paulo (1947), on the mythology of those Indians, which at the time had already been transformed into a body of legends, for it had ceased to be the object of belief on the part of the community. Finally, the Terêna were visited by Oberg and Altenfelder (1946-47), ethnologists who provided us with two detailed works on the Bananal local group, even though they tend to generalize their conclusions to the Terêna population in general. (8)

> 8. Altenfelder, in spite of generalizing from his study of cultural change to the Terêna as a whole, is perfectly aware of the problem (of the representativeness of the group studied) when he suggests in his article "a comparative study among the various communities of Terêna Indians, each of them subjected to different physical and social conditions." (1949:377.)

121 /24/ The study that we are now making of these Indians pinpoints them as tribal components of an area occupied by our society for centuries, where various waves of settlers arrived
121 successively in the course of the last 300 years. And among
177 those problems that spur us most strongly to research--and that
178 are the objects of this work--there figure those relating to the process of pioneering, conquest, and implantation of national

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/101/ The controversies that took place among 18th-century chroniclers, about the translation of the term Guaná, nevertheless do not compromise the interpretation that the word Guaná is but a special designation given by the Spanish conquistadors to the Txané groups of the Paraguay basin. It is probable that the term in question is a name of some sort from the language of one of those groups, with the exception of the Terêna, whose dialect does not contain such a word.

Among these Indians, as we were able to ascertain in the course of our stay in their aldeas, "Guaná" was an unfamiliar word that evoked no reaction whatsoever when uttered by the researcher. Be it noted that for man or male, for example, the Terêna have "hoyêno," and for that one they use "eneponé"; while "txané," to them, means people. However, in order to avoid any discussion which, on these grounds, would be useless, we must follow the majority of the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers and accept the tradition of its use in ethnology, (14)

14. Cf. the works of Metraux, Baldus, Oberg, and Altenfelder.

and /26/ adopt the designation Guaná for the Aruák-Txané groups of the Paraguay basin.

As for the identification of the Guaná subgroups, ethnology [114] faces problems of a different order. The variation encountered, chiefly in consulting the 18th-century chroniclers and between these and those of the following centuries, leads the specialist to desist from any further investigation into the exact historical position and the probable geographic location of these tribes in the eastern lands of the Paraguay River.

Max Schmidt gives a comparative table of the various names attributed to the Guaná groups by chroniclers of the [174] 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries. (15) Through an analysis of

15. Cf. 1903:328-331.

/27 cont./
174 they were encountered by 19th-century travelers. It seems
167 improbable that Guaná groups should have entered the region
[114] before that time, as Azara would have us believe. (19) The

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19. "At the time of the arrival of the first Spaniards, they (the Guaná nation) lived in the Chaco, between the 20° and 22° parallels of latitude. They remained there until 1673, while a large part of the nation settled east of the Paraguay River, north of the tropic, in the country that was then called the province of Ytati; then they spread toward the south." (1809, II:86.) Incidentally, the objectivity of this statement is also questioned by Metraux, 1946:239.

175 testimony of Padre Sanches Labrador is conclusive in this respect,
167 when he notes the first migratory movements of those Indians
[197] toward Brazil, between 1760 and 1767. It should also be added that the bulk of the migrations seem to have occurred--according to Max Schmidt--after 1767, i.e., says he, "the chief migration of the Guaná population as a whole only began at the time when the Franciscans replaced the Jesuit missions."(20)

20. 1903:327.--That date, 1767, marks the expulsion of the Jesuits from that area.

114 We do not consider it necessary to give here the itinerary of these groups, or even to undertake a demographic analysis of the Guaná as a whole. It will be sufficient to refer the

/27 cont./
114 reader to the already mentioned work by Alfred Metraux in
[113] the Handbook of South American Indians for a retrospective
view of the configuration of those groups while still in the
125 Chaco. Now it is important to note only the following: the
161 Exoaladi disappeared /28/ at the time of the Paraguayan
war; (21) in relation to the Layâna and the Kinikínau--who

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21. Atas Cuiabanas /Mato Grosso Records/, Arquivo da Diretoria dos Indios, Ch. 14, in Karl von den Steinen, 1940:694; in a footnote, we read that these Indians (designated by the name "Guanás") "were taken by the Paraguayans to Asunción, where they all died."

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by this time numbered, respectively, 300 and 1,000 individuals, (22) at the present time--as we have already

22. Atas Cuiabanas, ibid.; see also Leverger, 1862:222, who estimates that there were 800 Kinikináu in 1847, while the above-mentioned Atas reckon for the same period (1848) 200 additional Kinikináu, that is, one thousand altogether.

emphasized--not a single community of them is recorded, there being only a small number of survivors scattered through Terêna aldeas.

As for the Terêna, we see a different configuration.
[167] The Terêna population that settled in the Miranda region, at

/30 cont./

175 This statement by the Bavarian, Schmidel, is important
148 not only because it is one of the rare 16th-century observations on the Guaná; its full import is conveyed by its revelation about the nonenslaving character of Guaikurú domination, as it projects on Guaikurú-Guaná intertribal relations the type of feudal relations that prevailed in his own country at the time. Nevertheless, the term "slave" is commonly found in the accounts of chroniclers when they refer to Guaná subjection.(29)

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29. The term appears to be rather unfortunate, especially when extended to cover the Guaná tribes as a whole. From what is known regarding the modern Kayapó, it may be said that it is very dangerous to deal with these groups as a whole, without making the necessary differentiation among subtribes, or even among local groups, when it is desired to make a specific study of one subgroup as in our own case. The differences not only in interethnic but also in intertribal contact, with the divergent experiences that follow, are perhaps the element that will best explain the causes for the survival of some groups (such as the Terêna and up to recently the Kinikináu) and the extinction of others (such as the "Niguecactemic," Exoaladi, and Layâna). Unfortunately, the sources do not permit us to follow the experiences of each group separately, experiences which often differ in nature, and for this reason,

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would be revealing in terms of the development or disappearance of each one of them. Owing to this scarcity of data we are led to make this impressionistic sketch of the Guaná as a whole. This note will serve, however, as a warning to the reader.

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The inadequate nature of the term becomes evident from what Felix Azara himself writes: "At the time of the Spaniards' arrival, the Guaná went to join the Mbayá in bands, as they do now, in order to obey them, serve them, and work their lands, without any pay. This is the reason why the Mbayá always call them their slaves. It is true that this slavery is quite benign, for the Guaná submit voluntarily and give it up whenever they please. Furthermore, their lords give them very few orders, never use a commanding or compelling tone, and share everything with the Guaná, even the pleasures of the flesh...."(30)

30. 1809, II:96-97. --The inapplicability of the term seems obvious, when it is known that the very concept of slave implies the transformation of the human being into a thing, into the master's absolute property, over which he even has the right, inclusive, of life and death. This--as we can see--was not the case among the Guaikurú, or even between both and the other Chaco groups, who were truly subjected, by force of arms, to those groups. --For a discussion of the concept, see

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Florestan Fernandes, 1952:248-272; in his footnotes, this author provides a selected bibliography.

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Sanches Labrador, then, tries to explain the causes of this subjection: /31/ "...the Guaycurus have, on both banks of the Paraguay River, servants or people who pay tribute, who have been making them small offerings for some time. In so far as I was able to inquire about the origin of their right over the Niyololas, as they call the whole nation, it is all based on kinship, without their having obtained this power through arms or conquest...." (31) And elsewhere he writes: "Some

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31. 1910, II:266.

Eyguayeguis (a Mbayá-Guaikurú subtribe--RCO) caciques or captains married according to their fashion Guaná women caciques or captains. The latter's vassals, when these women died, remained in a permanent feudal relation to the descendants of their mistresses' husbands." (32)

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32. Idem., I:267.

Let it be added further that this vassalage was owed to a few Guaikurú and not to the entire group, as might appear at first glance. The chronicler thus says: "It so happened that the Eyiguayeguis caciques who married the Niyolola women caciques or captains, held their wives' vassals as their own; since then they have regarded them as such." (33) And be it

33. Labrador, II:266-267.

said in passing that it is not made very clear whether these vassals were actually Guaná--and in this case differentiated from

/33 cont./

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Indians. Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, in 1791, writes in a letter addressed to the Governor of the Province, João Albuquerque de Mello Pereira e Cáceres, the following: "With them (the Guaikurú) are allied the Guanãas; the Payaguás, out of the fear they have of them, take great care not to lose their friendship. All the others are their daily prey, whom they reduce to slavery." (Ms.)

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treated as independent communities, with their own territory and chiefs; which did not preclude the fact, however, that Guaná families were found among the Guaikurú themselves, who in the latter's aldeas, voluntarily or as the result of some intertribal conflict, had been led to be enlisted in the way of life of that seignorial group. (39)

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39. Herbert Baldus, in his timely and penetrating introduction to the Brazilian version of Boggiani's Os Caduveo /The Caduveo/, analyzes and classifies Guaikurú-Guaná relations as being of the symbiotic type, which seems to us to be true and for the documentation of which theory this chapter has been written. Thus, Baldus writes: "This symbiosis continued side by side with stratification and must not be regarded in any way as first steps of it. Although sometimes

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/41 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

175 Meanwhile, we must also consider, in relation to the observations of Labrador and Castelnau, with respect to the Guaná, the interval of a century that lies between the presence of one and the other near those Indians, in 1760 and 1845 respectively, and which will contribute a great deal to our understanding of the dynamics of the old social system. While 175 221 [565] Castelnau notes the presence of captives in the Guaná communities, Labrador does not. The first conclusion that comes to mind is that the Guaná may have begun their raiding expeditions in more recent times, most probably only in the fourteenth /sic/ century, either as allies of the Mbayá-Guaikurú or even alone. The chronicle in this respect does not enlighten us. Nevertheless, it makes it quite clear that warrior expeditions were made and that Guaná local groups participated in them, probably incited by the Guaikurú forays, although it is not impossible that at some time their non-Chaco ancestors, typical Arúák--as Max Schmidt would say--might have carried out /raids/. (61)

61. Cf. Max Schmidt, 1917, Chap. III.

● 114 565 [104] But let us consider yet another passage, written already in our century, referring specifically to the Terêna, which in a way complements the preceding ones. It is by the Protestant minister, Alexander Rattray-Hay, according to whom "among the Terêna, three distinct strata are recognized: the Naati (chiefs), the Shunachati (warriors), and the Machatichane [654] (field laborers). A warrior may ascend through election to the stratum of chiefs, but a field laborer can only reach the warrior [178] [547] class through the death of an enemy in war." (62) Rattray-Hay

62. 1928:108-109.

does not mention the Kauti simply because this institution no

/41 cont./ [Traditional Culture]
114 longer existed at the time (1920) when /42/ he lived with the
565 Terêna, since they were unable to make raiding forays or even
178 to trade captives (63) in a region completely transformed by
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63. In the second half of the last century, there still existed what may be called trading of captives, as may be seen by this passage by Taunay: "The Caiuás /Cayua/ (a Guarani group--RCO) who had been sold passed from hand to hand as slaves or, as they were called there, cativeiros /"captivities"/." (1931:21.)

114 the establishment of the national society. But, on the other
565 hand, he mentions the "Shunachati" as belonging to a stratum formally identical to the others. As for this, our experiences among the present-day Terêna lead us to disagree not only with Rattray-Hay, but with ethnologists like Oberg and Altenfelder, who decided that these Indians were stratified into four strata or classes: Naati, Xuna-Xati, Waherê-Txané, and Kauti. (64) Xuna-Xati, in our opinion, corresponds to the

64. Oberg, 1949:28; Altenfelder, 1949:319-320. It is necessary to emphasize that these authors use the term "Unati" rather than Naati, which is the correct one. "Unati" merely means "good." On the other hand, these authors use the term class, with which we cannot concur, since

142 cont. / [Traditional Culture]

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class expresses the concept of a group with a definite place in the process of production; nothing indicates that the Naati did not participate along with the Wahereˆ-Txané and the Kauti themselves in agricultural labor; on the contrary, everything favors this hypothesis.

114 565 555 701 [567] Xuna-Xati, in our opinion, corresponds to the warrior hero, the one who managed to kill an enemy in battle and is thus honored by the tribe with this title which, literally translated, would mean killer. Therefore, warriors could be all those who participated in the battles and forays of the group, whether they were Naati or Wahereˆ-Txané. Consequently, members of one or the other group could become Xuna-Xati, including the Kauti, even though this was not very common, since it was rare for the latter to participate in battles. (65)

65. This is a subject that is not very clear, although the Terêna we talked to state that the participation of the Kauti in battles was minimal. The chroniclers consulted are not explicit on this. It appears certain, however, that the Terêna--contrary to what occurred among the Mbayá-Guaikurú--were not as successful, or perhaps did not even attempt to incite their captives to warfare or even encourage them to become incorporated into the dominant group.

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/46 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 into Xumonó and Sukirikionó. Unfortunately, the bibliographic
● 114 data we have on the subject are very poor. We do not know of
178 any information obtained through direct observation; the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers, who could have helped us with the slightest reference to this dual division, say nothing on the subject; only the already cited missionary, Rattray-Hay, speaks of the matter, but his observations apply to a period when the moieties were no longer functioning as a marriage-regulating technique. Both Rattray-Hay and the ethnologists who followed him 25 years later, such as Oberg and Altenfelder, found these moieties in their ceremonial form and, even thus, not always actualized in the group's religious festivities. The
616 [179] information we obtained in 1955 and 1957 among the remaining Kinikináu and Terêna give as being true the existence of these divisions in the set-up of their ceremonies of old. Nor is there any doubt that these moieties, before they acquired strictly ceremonial functions, played an important role in the regulation of social life, especially in so far as the choice of a spouse was concerned (Figure 2).

In this respect--the regulation of marriage--, Rattray-Hay, interpreting the Sukirikionó and Xumonó moieties respectively as good and bad, attempts the following explanation:
[273] "How these divisions originated, we cannot very well ascertain, even though, to some extent, we can relate them to the brothers, the good one and the bad one, in their mythology....Marriage between these two parts was also forbidden"--and he adds:
[622] "As the present chief of Bananal aldea pointed out, he who was descended from the bad (moiety), he could not, according to the old law, have married his wife, whose parents are good."
[128] And Rattray-Hay comments: "These distinctions broke down totally in the last generation and are now completely disre-
[796] garded. Except for their role as a barrier to intermarriage, the two parts, the good /47/ /Figure 2 appears here/ and the bad, live together as one, and the division only becomes apparent during the great annual warrior dance known as Cohishotiquipahú...." (72)

72. 1928:109.

[Traditional Culture]

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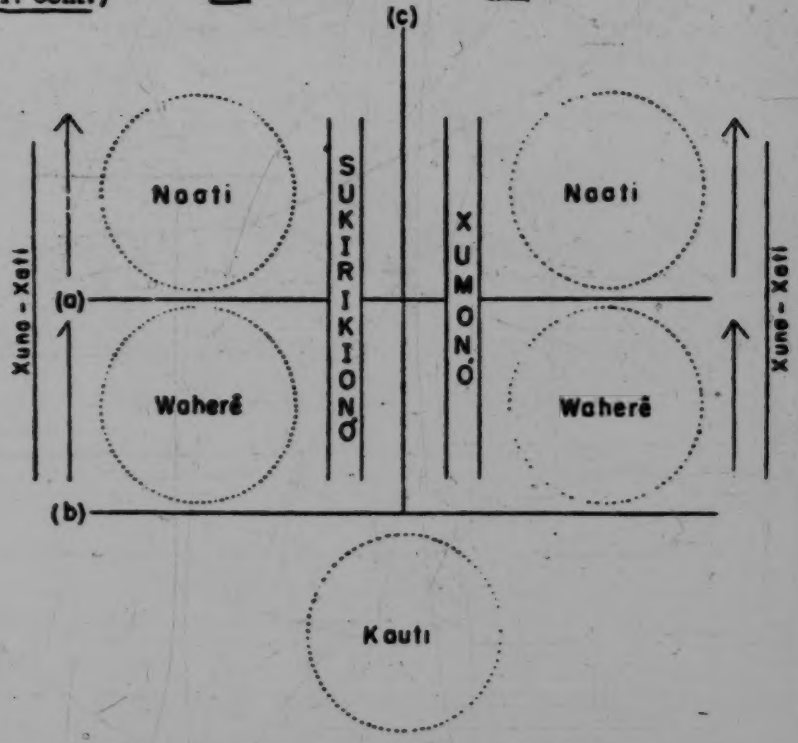

Figure 2. Schematization of the Terêna-Guaná social structure, formed by the superimposition of two substructures: 1) the terms written horizontally represent the threefold and asymmetric substructure (see Figure 1); the terms written perpendicularly in capital letters represent the twofold and symmetric substructure. The dividing lines (a), (b) and (c) correspond to a compartmentalization into five parts or five possible marriage situations, represented by the dotted circles. The dynamism of the threefold structure is due to the Xuna-Xati, noted perpendicularly and with arrows indicating vertical mobility.

611 Cohishotiquipahú....* (72) By plumbing the oral tradition of the
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72. 1928:109.

Terêna, especially of the /48/ Buriti, Bananal, Ipegue, and Cachoeirinha local groups, we were able to corroborate this

148 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 statement by Rattray-Hay, with the exception of the adjectives
[173] "good" and "bad" attributed to the moieties. Actually, good
[114] and bad seem to be much more a "pious" rationalization con-
[829] cerning the moieties rather than an objective interpretation.
We prefer, in this case, Oberg's "translation," (73) i.e.,
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73. 1948:283; 1949:27.

Xumonó as "fierce" (fierce people) and Sukirikionó as "gentle" (gentle people), in accordance with the divergent behavior shown by each moiety in the old ceremonies. In the Oheokoti ceremony, the Xumonó had to tease and provoke, while the Sukirikionó had to remain passive and phlegmatic, without showing any reaction.

616 Concerning the survival of these moieties as techniques
796 for the regulation of the ceremonial life, it is well to emphasize
[128] that the bibliography is limited to Rattray-Hay, and only to
[178] this passage we are examining. Our investigations among the Terêna of Cachoeirinha permit us to pinpoint 1905 as the last year in which the moieties appear to have been fully operative in the division of the community for the festivities which were
616 carried out at the time. These festivals combined magico-
796 religious activities and secular games, in the following way:
431 after the Oheokoti religious ceremony--which we shall describe below--there appeared a new personage, Yunakalú, who was always a Xumonó Indian, in full attire and whose duty it was to go from house to house, in the aldea, to ask for donations (mostly food), accompanied by a large crowd who helped him carry the objects received. The Yunakalú used a stick with which he pointed to the objects desired, which could not be denied him by the owners. (74) Then, the food was carried

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74. This may be the origin of the term so commonly used in Bananal, Maxati-txané.

149 cont. / [Traditional Culture]

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century the old stratification was far less operative. For fuller descriptions of the "Tadique," see Altenfelder, 1949:364-365.

616 535 526 178 114 534 Already at the time when Rattray-Hay was with the Terêna of Bananal, the Mootó was no longer performed, there remaining only the Kohixoti-kipahé or "bate-pau" dance--as noted by the missionary--and, probably, the Ivuixotevogomoto or "race of the little horses," both dances noted in 1896 by Bach and witnessed by us in Cachoeirinha. The first consisted of a series of evolutions by two groups, "Harará-iti" (red) and "Hononó-iti" (blue), armed with pellet bows and sticks, dancing to the sounds of a small bamboo flute and a drum. (77) The second

77. The dance consists of various movements or scenes, the chief ones being the following: "Isukokoti-kiirí-étakati" (hits the tip of the bamboo), "Isukokoti-kukukê" (hits in the middle), "Isukokoti-dutiku" (hits on the back), "Wokoti" (draws the bow), "Wekooti" (passes under), "Aluókóti" (climbs upon), and "Hiokexoti-pepe-é-ke" (dancing to the drumbeat).

one, looking more like a game than a dance, also consisted in the confrontation of two groups, headed by their caciques, mounted on outlines of horses cut out of leather: the aim was to slip spears through a small ring hanging from a bow. In both dances points were added up, so that it was always possible to know which group was the winner.

/50 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

"Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely

79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terêna kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally, to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan war--as we shall see in the next chapter--, when these aldeas were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form. Finally, we can say that the ancient Guaná appear to have been matrilocal, despite the fact that the Terêna incline toward bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guaná-Terêna social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

For giving us an outline of Guaná religion, the chroniclers /51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guaná "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

80. Castelnau, 1949:304.
81. Idem: 248.

/51 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

81. Idem: 248.

But much greater--still according to the same source--was the respect they showed for the "small constellation which they called the seven stars and whose appearance at specific points of the sky was the reason for an annual festival." (82) Never-

82. Ibid.

theless, it cannot be said that there was a cult of these entities, or of the "great spirit," and much less of the Pleiades, as that constellation is identified. Moreover, Metraux observes in this regard that "among some peoples of the Chaco, the celestial bodies or natural phenomena are personified and are considered helpful or dangerous, but there is no evidence that a regular cult is rendered to them." (83) And, referring to the

83. Alfred Metraux,
1944:294.

Terena, he says that these Indians "regarded the return of the Pleiades (merely) as a sign for the performance of magic rites and for various festivities." (84)

84. Idem:295.

J. Bach (85) provides a very good description of how these

85. "The only religious festival they celebrate is the one that corresponds to our Holy Week and to the passage of the seven stars; this festival lasts for seven days. In all the aldeas, in front

[Traditional Culture]

796 151 cont./
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In all the aldeas, in front of each rancho, they build a roof with two slopes, of straw and two meters square and one meter 80 centimeters high, supported on bamboos. Under this roof they place a bamboo fork from which they hang a plume of feathers and a gourd. They go in large crowds from rancho to rancho, every half hour, singing and making noise with the gourd. On the fourth day, at dawn, they make a great din with horns, cry out, and discharge gun powder; it is an impressive noise, so impressive that even the animals take fright, and accompany the music with their cries and moans. On the fifth day a masked figure appears (the Yuna-kalú-rco) with a little bag in his hand, clowning and requesting contributions from everyone for the great banquet which they will all celebrate. Accompanied by music, drums, and flutes, they celebrate the banquet and dances which end on the seventh day with much drinking." (1916:91.)

[431]

796 festivities were carried out among the Terêna whom he visited
[114] at the end of the 19th century. These ceremonies, which

796 182 619 571 462 [114] [Traditional Culture]

/52 cont./ largest possible part of the local group and a harmonious and efficient division of labor. Thanks to the fortunate coincidence whereby Castelnau passed through a Terêna community, near Miranda, in May 1845, exactly during preparations for those festivities, we can evaluate the high significance to the group of their "national holiday." The chronicler writes that "for a month the men had searched the forest for honey with which all the families were now busy preparing an alcoholic beverage, the soul of every festival." (88) Once the raw material had

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88. 1949, II:303.

been gathered by the men, the job of preparing the drink fell to the women. Besides, by "all the houses women could be seen working at tasks of the most varied sort, but always for the same end." (89) And the function of these annual gatherings

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89. The chronicler goes on: "Some sew glass beads on pieces of striped cotton cloth, others cut and lay out the red feathers with which they make ornaments for the head; yet others sketch on their husbands' bodies delicate paintings, when they do not do this themselves." (1949, II:304.)

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became very clear to us, in so far as they animate intratribal relations and preserve social solidarity, when we ascertained among the present-day Terêna that this is perhaps the only moment when the local groups manage to gather together all (or almost all) their members. Like the Oheokoti--which today coincides with Holy Week--, only the June festivals can gather the local group together, owing to the great spatial mobility

[Traditional Culture]

/52 cont./ of the present-day Terêna. As we shall see in Chapter VII, in spite of the /53/ socio-cultural variations we shall find among the Terêna population (Chap. VI), the power of attraction of these ceremonies is such that it leads to the withdrawal of the Terêna population from all labor, whether on the fazendas, in the towns or cities of the region, or even in their own aldeas that promote the festivals, where their activities are limited to those preparations.

For now, it is sufficient if we accept the idea that traditional Terêna-Guaná religious behavior is characterized, in its basic lines, by its compliance to a pattern peculiar to the Chaco culture area. (90) Incidentally, this is not limited to

90. "The cerimonial life of the "Tereno" and probably of all "Guaná" also was particularly intense when the new year began. It is difficult to ascertain wheter these Indians adopted the "Mbya" rites and added a few traditional elements of their own, or whether cerimonies already present in their own earlier culture corresponded to the Pleiades feast of the "Mbaya" (Metraux, 1946:357). /Cited in English./

religion, but may be extended to mythology. In this respect, Baldus comments that the Terêna mythological complex, today changed into a body of legends, clearly proves its Chaco origin, and he also points out as significant the fact that the Handbook of South American Indians includes that group in the Chaco tribes. (91)

91. 1950:217.

/55 cont./

773 not in a position to formulate, even though in the conversations
616 we had with some Terêna informants in this respect, we were left with the impression that the Sukirikionó were regarded as
[177] slightly superior to the Xumonó. This, however, seems to be a projection of the roles played by both moieties in the festivities related to the Oheokoti, and re-evaluated by the "cathechized" Terêna in the light of Christian morality, in terms of a "good" and a "bad" moiety.

773 Still other myths, and several versions, could be analyzed
114 in this work, thanks to the relatively good and recent bibliography available and to the material we gathered in the field.
128 However, we believe that we would be departing from the purposes of this chapter, which is to provide an outline or a simple characterization of the traditional culture, by which we mean the one that prevailed in Chaco times. We shall be content if we succeeded in this chapter in providing the reader with an accurate though summary idea of the culture of the ancient Terêna-Guaná, which will make it possible for him to understand the changes undergone by a tribal population in contact with an expanding and technically superior society.
/Two plates appear here./ /Page 56 is blank./

G /69 cont./
B And while many of these things /70/ still occur today, keep-
466 ing the Terêna under a regime of exploitation, it cannot be
178 said that there has not been a marked change since the time
B when the native laborer became the object of special attention
657 on the part of the government, shown in the creation of the S.P.I. From then to now, exploitation has become more subtle, less brutal, but nevertheless effective. And it can be said that as the structure of a "feudal" nature that ruled up to that time in southern Mato Grosso breaks down, thanks to the penetration of the NOB, the native population, along with the neo-Brazilians subjected to the same exploitation, keep benefiting by this. (132)

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132. In the last pages of his thesis, Fernando Altenfelder gives a very good summary of the history of the Terêna, with the aim of giving an idea of the process of cultural change undergone by the Bananal community. The role of the "Inland South America Missionary Union," pointed out by Altenfelder as a basic element in the most recent changes undergone by those Indians, cannot, nevertheless, be generalized to apply to the other communities, in view of the fact that in many of them no Protestant missionaries ever managed to settle.

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175 Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134) This chronicler,
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[114] J. Bach, merely cites those he visited, namely: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipegue, Santana, and Caytapé; and he states that "all the aldeas present the same type of construction, which is crude, consisting of houses or ranchos with bamboo walls and roof of straw or palm leaves." (135)

134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

135. Ibid.

103 The first difficulty we met with was in looking for the connec-
361 tion of these names, evidently regional--with the exception
174 of Ipegue and, perhaps, Caytapé--, with the tribal names
[173] attributed by the Terêna to their aldeas. We had to resort to the oral traditions of the Terêna, and we obtained the following data which we compared with those gathered by Altenfelder: (136) Imokovookoti or Bookoti, /72/ the self-denomination

136. 1949:281.

of the local group, whose survivors occupy the present-day aldea of Cachoeirinha, three leagues northeast of Miranda; Ipegue, the same local group referred to by the two chroniclers mentioned; Tuminikú, the local group that probably formed the present-day aldea of Bananal; Kamakuê, the local group that occupied the area where there today the neo-Brazilian settlement of Duque Estrada is; Háokoé, a small aldea one league from Tuminikú; Naxedaxe, already referred to by
[62] Taunay; Sinikué, a Terêna name attributed to the former aldea of Guaykuru Indians, also known as Lalima, and today populated by innumerable Terêna, Kinikinau, and Layâna families. All these aldeas were located between the cities of Miranda and Aquidauana, with a greater concentration near the former.

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/84 cont./

as well as 84 Terêna dwellings. Aside from this central nucleus, we find--as in other Terêna aldeas--areas especially devoted to farm plots and others comprising winter pastures for cattle; in both areas, there are ranchos where a significant part of the community lives. The history of Bananal is very important to an understanding of those migration movements we are studying in this chapter. For this reason, we refer the reader to the already mentioned research of Fernando Altenfelder da Silva, devoted to the study of the cultural change of the Terêna, on the basis of data obtained in Bananal. We shall quote the following passage from this author on the history of the community: "The present aldea of Bananal, which numbers more than 900 Indians (this in 1946--RCO), originated at the beginning of this century, in an area close to that of the old aldeas of Naxe-Daxe and Ipegue. Owing to the persecutions stirred up by the local fazendeiros, very few Indian families remained in this area. . . . In 1906 the Brazilian, João Gomes, who lived with a Terêna woman, "named" the Indian, Manoel Pedro, captain of Bananal aldea. In 1908, Manoel Pedro and some Indians, among them Marcolino Wollily (who later succeeded him), began the demarcation of the aldea lands, probably directed by General Rondon, who had been there making a survey of the area. In 1915 Marcolino Wollily was appointed by the S.P.I. to the post of captain of the aldea and distinguished himself in the defense of Terêna interests against the constant demands of neighboring fazendeiros. Converted to Protestantism, Marcolino caused part of the aldea to be converted as well." (147)

147. 1949:285.

The importance of the Marcolino "affair" is evident. After reading Altenfelder and living, as we did, for some time in the aldeas that maintain the greatest contact with Bananal, we felt at once the impact there of the Marcolino matter and his politico-religious activities.

[Buriti]

/93 cont./

175 Nimuendajú. (152) It seems that only since 1920-22 did Terêna
361
[166]
[114]

152. In 1913, on the order of Inspetor Luiz Bueno Horta Barbosa, Nimuendajú drew up a map locating the indigenous tribes of southern Mato Grosso, the original of which is in the map collection of the Museu do Índio (Seção de Estudos, S. P. I.).

[173] families who had come down from the top of the range begin
[115] to concentrate in that area. The oldest members of the community, when interviewed, were unanimous in their identification of that time as the date of the founding of Buriti. On
175 the other hand, the first data supplied by reports of the Serviço
621 do Proteção aos Índios, on Buriti aldea, already point out in
[162] 1923 a population of 420 persons, with livestock numbering
[233] 400 horses and 180 cattle. (153) But only at the end of 1927
[423]

153. Cf. Relatório Anual da Diretoria do S. P. I., p. 148, year 1923.

was the possession of 2,000 hectares of land for the usufruct of
[622] the /94/ Indians located there decreed. At this time there arrived in the community the present captain of Buriti, Joaquim Loureiro de Figueredo, (his name was borrowed from that of a former employer, a fazendeiro of the top of the mountain range), who is now almost blind and 80 years old; this captain told us that he was born in Brejão (in Laranjal aldea) and
16 worked almost ten years on Maracaju fazendas. In 1937,
621 Buriti had attained a population of 448 individuals, distributed
464 in 91 ranchos; and it would have been a much larger population,

/120 cont./
121 to their relatively high numbers, but to their dispersion--we
125 had to rely on sociographic techniques such as the giving of
369 questionnaires and the carrying out of interviews, along previously worked out lines, aside from the use of "life histories" and "case" studies. (193)

[114]
[101]

193. The giving of questionnaires and some of the interviews were carried out by our colleague, Dalton Moreira de Araújo, who accompanied us to the cities, Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, during the second half of June and the first half of July, 1958, as a research assistant.

121 Once the area had been reduced, an investigation was
125 made to find out whether this urbanized population could be
369 regarded as representative of the world of the Terêna living
162 in cities. Through interviews with innumerable Terêna of Campo Grande and Aquidauana, it became evident that these cities were the centers of the largest Terêna concentration, especially the former, with its 16 families or 121 individuals. Thus, in decreasing population order, we have Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, on a "gradient" that expresses the significance of these centers as foci of /121/ attraction. This gradient led us to dispense with Nioac and the smaller settlements along the railroad line, since it showed that there is a correlation between the size of the cities (in area and population) and the number of Terêna Indians who reside in them. This strengthened the objectivity of the data obtained through indirect means about Nioac, according to which that town had a Terêna population equivalent to that of Miranda. The conclusion we reached was that we would be working with more

/39 cont./

842 There is no rule as to whether births of boys are preferred to births of girls or vice versa; such a preference depends on individual taste.

584 If a boy is courting a girl, he makes a speech to her, which one can translate approximately as follows: "I wish, I love this woman, I would like to be married, I wish, I wish, I love." -- If the girl is in agreement with him, she declares, short and sweet: "I want to." -- Then the mother of the boy goes to the mother of the girl to ask for her, and the father of the boy goes to the father of the girl. The boy gives his parents-in-laws gifts, 836 and they respond with gifts. Pre-marital sexual intercourse does 585 not take place. When the marriage is to be consumated, the 933 future husband hears from his father, and the future wife from her mother, that for coitus one should lie on the side, and, indeed, /40/ facing each other. "First you must do it that way for it has been done that way since the beginning of the tribes; later you may do it as you please."

842 If there are not to be children immediately, the woman takes [825] a preventive: she roasts a certain snail, places the juice of it [824] in the morning dew, and drinks it very early in the morning. For the same purpose, she can also eat a certain small forest-fruit, which smells like the abacaxy (therefore like a pineapple), but only when it is ripe.

578 Formerly there were no quarrels between man and man, man 178 and woman, or woman and woman because of jealousy; today they do occur.

461 There are women who are lazy. Then the man does her work. But there are also men who are lazy and have their work done by the woman.

115 I have my informant, who first was called Kalapití and later [126] Nakilí, to thank for a few texts of myths which I surely could [114] not have learned from any other Tereno. I shall publish them at another place. I also have him to thank for the information concerning the succession of the chiefs, which without doubt no other Tereno could have given me so thoroughly and completely. For

/40 cont./

602 1. (cont.)
601 mother's brother's son," and "my mother's
brother's daughter," nevoangé. -- In my
[114] work Tereno-Texte /Tereno Texts/ I shall
publish all the kinship terms of the Tereno.

602 father's father of the children tells their mother's brother that
604 he should /41/ bring back from hunting something for them that
[178] they especially desire. It was like that formerly and it is often
[593] that way still today. The father only provides the ordinary foods
for his children, but not particularly desired delicacies.
582 While the people always marry within the village and the
62/ husband builds the house for his wife and she becomes the mistress
622 of the house, chief's children only marry among themselves or,
591 when that is impossible, at least distant relatives of chiefs (1), and

[602] 1. Kinship extends to the grandchildren of the
[601] male and female cousins, whom one also calls
amorí, "my grandchild."

thus they marry outside the village and it is not infrequent that
622 the husband moves to his father-in-law's place. Nalikí's mother s
602 father was chief of the village of Mureira even before the Paraguay
War. He was called Himuná. His successor was Nalikí's father,
who was called Ečviagatí. He was the oldest son of the chief of
Abacaxí. Usually the eldest son of the chief becomes his father's
successor, if he does not have father's brother's sons who are older
[591] (see below). Since however, all of Himuna's sons had died and
left no male descendants, since Himuná also had no brother's
sons or sister's sons, and since Ečviagatí's father was still very
vigorous, Ečviagatí, as husband of Himuná's oldest daughter,
moved to his father-in-law's and later became chief of Mureira
as his successor; he handed over the rule of Abacaxí to his
younger brother after his father's death.

/404/

131 The territory of the Tereno /Terena/ Indians extends west
[361] of the Brazilian city of Miranda to the Bolivian border. Their
first village lies two leguas, the last one about 12-14 leguas,
101 from the above-mentioned city. The Terenos are Chaco Indians
[167] and migrated about 60 years ago from the Bolivian Chaco to their
present habitation site. In external appearance they greatly
resemble the Lenguas and have also some customs and practices
142 in common with them. The men are mostly slender and tall,
and at the same time muscular; the women are medium-sized,
likewise robust, and many are corpulent. The /405/ face is
broad with prominent cheekbones, the nose broad, pressed flat,
the nostrils large, the eyes dark-brown, the mouth wide, pro-
302 truding, the hair blue-black, stiff, and coarse. Most pluck out
178 the eyelashes and beard hair, but the present generation seems
to want to abandon this bad custom, for I saw some young girls
771 and men who were equipped with very beautiful eyelashes. The
797 Terenos call themselves Christians, despite the fact that they
have no notion of Christian belief. Their children are neither
baptized nor confirmed; also, they do not know our Christian
holidays. I never saw Terenos praying, and no one wore a rosary,
[178] which is considered the chief sign of Catholic faith here. They
[821] cling to their old customs and, like their forefathers, still worship
648 the stars. In the war against Paraguay they served the Brazilians
well, and as a consequence some caciques of Brazil held a
commission as alferes, which they showed me with great pride
361 and asked me to read it aloud. I visited six villages (aldeas),
[114] which were not very different from one another. An aldea con-
sists of three to six family-huts and some small ranchos. The
592 family huts are low, but very long and spacious, and in some of
them 30 and more people live under a common head. In most
cases this is the oldest man of the family. All the daughters re-
main in the hut in which they were born, and they marry there.
[591] As soon as a girl marries, a new bed is built, and the young hus-
[353] band moves into the family hut of his wife. In one hut I counted
12 such beds, which were set up in two rows, similar to a hospital.

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Terena

MARRIAGE AND TERENA TRIBAL SOLIDARITY:

An Essay in Structural Analysis

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Sumario

El autor de este artículo se limita a estudiar la sociedad de los Terena, indígenas que viven en algo más de 10 aldeas del sur del Mato Grosso, en Brasil. El número de ellos es en la actualidad de unos 5000. El grupo, de la rama Arawak, habitó antiguamente el Chaco Paraguayo. Es así que en este trabajo, como se ha dicho, se estudia la sociedad Terena desde que estuvo en el Chaco, todas sus supervivencias, y los cambios resultantes de su presente localización en una zona fronteriza que podríamos llamar "frontera de civilizaciones". Asimismo, se trata de descubrir las matrices o elementos formales inherentes de su sistema social. Para cumplir este propósito, el autor trata de construír lo que podría llamarse un modelo abstracto de la estructura social de los Terena basado en datos empíricos, recogidos directamente en el campo, o extraídos de la bibliografía.

Introduction

The Terena Indians live in ten or more villages in southern Mato Grosso, between 20° and 22° south latitude and 54° and 58° west Longitude.[1] They number about 5000 individuals. Originally inhabiting the Paraguaian Chaco, these Arawak people have maintained continuous contact with Brazilian civilization for more than a century and a half. Even though they might be described today as being integrated into the socio-economic structure of the regio,[2] it is not accurate to speak of them as being assimilated into neo-Brazilian society.[3]

[1] This paper is a result of field work done under the auspices of the *Indian Protective Service* and the *Division of Anthropology* of the *National Museum* of Brazil. The proposed plan of the field work was published in the *Revista de Antropologia*, São Paulo, Vol. 5, Nº 2, 1957. This article was written originally in Portuguese and was translated into English by Dale W. Kietzman, of "Summers Institute of Linguistics", and reviewed by the author.

[2] We are using the term *integrated* in the sense proposed by Darcy Ribeiro (1957 : 13) when he uses this classification for those "groups which, having experienced all of the pressures referred to (epidemics, massacres, social disorganization—RCO) and having succeeded in surviving, are found in the 20th century as a distinct entity in the midst of the national population, into whose economic life they have been incorporated as a labor reserve or as producers of certain specialized articles for local commerce."

[3] In a study recently published by the National Museum (*The Process of*

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121 In this article we will limit ourselves to a study of Terena society, as it was the Chaco and as it has survived the change resulting from its present location in a frontier zone of civilization; we will attempt to discover the matrices, or inherent formal elements of its social system.[4] To accomplish this purpose we will atempt to construct what might be called an abstract model[5] of Terena social structure based on empirical data, whether recorded directly in the field or gleaned from the bibliography. In this regard it would not be amiss to note the words of Levi-Strauss: "It should also be kept in mind that what makes social structure studies valuable is that structures are models, the formal properties of which can be compared independently of their elements" (1954 : 528).

An apparent methodological contradiction emerges in the formulation of our aims, when the problem of the construction of a model (which implies an atemporal approach) is grouped with the discussion of changes occurring in it (in which the notion of time is implicit). This problem is handled through the use that we will make of the concepts of social structure and of social organization. If the concept of *structure* refers to highly stable uniformities (J. Marion Levi, Jr., 1952: 57-58), then in the concept of *social structure* "the qualities recognized are primarily those of persistence, continuity, form, and pervasiveness

[114] [117]

Assimilation of the Terena), we show that the village population of the tribe, which totals about four fifths of all Terena, continues to resist those mechanisms which make toward assimilation and which are increasingly pressing upon them. The rest of the population, which is detribalized and to a certain extent urbanized, since it is now located in the towns of the area, shows a strong tendency toward assimilation, if we take into consideration the actions of the first and second generations of families who have left their original communities. (cf. Mss., Chapters VII and VIII; also our article, 1958a : 16-18).

[4] Our conception of *social system* approximates, in general terms, that of Talcott Parsons, who defines it as consisting "... in a plurality of individual actors interacting with each other in a situation which has at least a physical or environmental aspect, ... whose relation to ... each other is defined and mediated in terms of a system of culturally structured and shared symbols" (1952: 5-6), and further defined by J. Marion Levy, Jr., as "any patterned collection of elements" (1952 : 20). Levy, in relation the term "society" (and we would add "tribe") to the concept of social system, makes plain that it is "one particular type of social system, but it is only one of an infinite (or at least a very large) number of conceivable types." (ibidem).

[5] We use *model* in a less specific sense than did Levi-Strauss (1954 : 528), since we do not identify "model" with "structure", which to us are related but distinct concepts. Model, in the sense in which we will use it, is a "generalized description of the system of phenomena concerned— a description that states the component parts of the system and at least some of their relationship" (J. Marion Levi, Jr., 1952 : 29-30). Comparing this concept with that of structure which will be formulated later in this study, we can say that our objetive is to construct a *model of Terena social structure.*

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of social change. The present study is particularly compatible with this approach, emphasizing as it does the function of the Terena matrimonial complex in strengthening tribal solidarity and its role in the overall fabric of tribal and intertribal relationships. The approach particularly commends itself for its more adequate handling of "conformity" and "deviance" with respect to social structure.

Whether recorded by us or gleaned from others, the Terena material on which the present structural analysis is based was all collected by evoking "tribal memory" through the use of older informants, since Terena, i. e., tribal, social structure has long since ceased to exist. On the other hand, for all practical purposes there are no ethnological data recorded before the 19th century. Even Sanches Labrador's 18th century classic, although dealing with the Guaná or Txané Indians, fails to mention specifically thetir Terena sub-group. Castelnau, Taunay and J. Bach, writing a century later, are the first major sources. Still, even though they represent the best ethnographic sources of the past century, their data on the then current Terena social structure are insignificant. Distinctive contributions in this area begin with the missionary Alexander Rattray Hay, who lived with the Terena in the village of Bananal from 1917 to 1920. By this time the group was already largely acculturated.[7] The only other studies based on field work are those of Kalervo Oberg and Fernando Altenfelder da Silva, which derive from a stay in 1946 in Bananal, and the more specialized studies of Herbert Baldus with reference to certain Terena culture complexes—such as on the mythology and the succession to the chieftainship. They were of great use in preparing the present analysis.

1. Social Stratification and Ethnic Stratification

Max Schmidt, studying the process of expansion of Arawak speaking groups, indicates as an invariable element in their communities the presence of prisioners of war, or simply "captives". He leaves us with this question: "It would be interesting to know by what means Arawak society (which he treats as a single unit—RCO) was able to obtain for itself, starting as an agriculturally based people, the position of lords over these other population groups, who became the means of obtaining needed production. To create under then-existing conditions

under which a phenomenon normally exists, it to study its "deviate", or anomic, forms. He notes further that these pathologic forms are the ones that determine the breakdown of social solidarity.

[7] The concept of acculturation allows a two-way application: (a) as to *process*, by which it assumes an explanatory character; and (b) as to *state* or "degrees of acculturation", by which it can be used for more descriptive purposes, as in the present case (cf. Beals, 1954 : 627).

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population. The status of *warrior hero* came to be a goal for all males, giving the Xuna-Xati an intensely integrative function in the lical groups, by means of the correspondences and adjustments in the roles of the warriors and in their acquired social rights. On the other hand, by also stimulating skill and bravery in combat, it helped physically to preserve Terena society.

5. The Kinship System

Except for minor differences which do not affect the structure, our analysis of the Terena kinship system corresponds with that recorded by oberg (1949) and Altenfelder Silva (1949). We will limit ourselves, therefore, to classifying it as of the "Hawaiian" type, following Murdock (1951 : 64), and to analyzing certain important relationships that have a bearing on the problems dealt with in this paper.

Examining the kinship system we find that consanguineous marriage was prohibited. Neither marriage among cousins, whether parallel or cross-cousins, nor between uncle/niece and nephew/aun was permitted (cf. Figure V). Sexual relations between children of father's and mother's brothers and sisters was considered incestuous, since all the children were treated as siblings. Thus Terena society, by laying emphasis on the solidarity of a group of brothers and sisters in a fashion that accords well with the principle of the unity of the sibling group (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952 : 64-67), reduced even more the permitted area for matrimony, already greatly reduced by stratum and moiety endogamy. A marriage that seemingly would be permitted or perhaps even preferred, between children of siblings of the opposite sex of Ego, i. e., those persons classified as Nevongé, is actually impossible because of the Terena emphasis on the solidarity of the sibling group. Wheter or not such a marriage was once permitted as the kinship terminology seems to imply, cannot be conclusively answered on the basis of the evidence in hand. Present day Terena deny it categorically. And not even tribal mythology presents us with a clue, as it does in the case of marriage between in-laws.

Among affinal relations, the preferred marriage seems to have been with the spouse of a dead brother or sister, i. e., sororate and levirate marriage. Along with these forms there also existed simple and sororal polygyny although these were not necessarily preferred forms. To a certain extent these exist down to the present, although they are now resisted by the community, as was notably one case of sororal polygyny in Cachoerinha.[12] As to sororate and levirate marriage, we found

[12] Today this type of barriage is very rare. We heard of only this case and one other in the village of Brejão. In both cases the husbands and their wives

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[587]

several examples, not only in Cachoeirinha but also in several other Terena villages. Sexual interest between afinal relations is certainly a theme of the mythology, as demonstrated by the following Terena myth, which is today repeated quite commonly as a folktale. "An old

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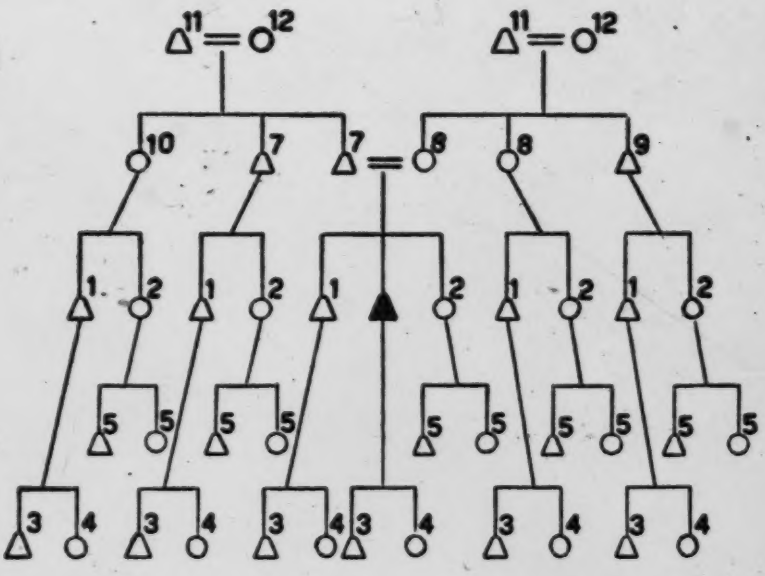

Figure V

(1) Andi, (2) Mongetxá, (3) Djé-é, (4) Inzinó, (5) Nevongé, (6) Amori, (7) Zaa, (8) Ezno, (9) Eungo, (10) Oongo, (11) Ongu, (12) Onzo. All of the numbered terms, composing the consanguineous kinship system, are elemental in their linguistic structure, and are employed as terms of reference. These were the two criteria used in filling out our list of the kinship terminology. Nevertheless there are certain discrepancies to be found in comparing this with that published by Oberg and Altenfelder Silva: With relation to the maternal uncle (9) and paternal aunt (10), they preferred the descriptive terms Ayo-Exno and Mongetxá-Zaa, which mean "brother of mother" and "sister of father" (noting that Ayo is the term for "brother" when Ego is feminine); while Oberg prefers the name Ayo-Exno, Altenfelder Silva links Ayo with the address term Lulu "uncle". It is noted, further, that father's brothers and mother's sisters are called respectively by the address term Tzata "father" and Mzene "mother", in the same fashion as the biological father and mother. The kinship system also makes a distinction between older brother (Enjovi) and younger brother (Andi), when Ego is masculine.

● [114]

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man liked his sister-in-law (we are transcribing faithfully the words of the informant). His sister-in-law died, and the old man, named Viily, buried her in the cemetery. Then the armadillo came and rooted

[587] were much criticized by the community. They avoid public reference to their case, although they live in the same house and form an economic unit.

/87/

Data on the Terena Indians of Miranda

J. Bach (1)

●114 1. The notes that we publish at the present time were handed over to me by the trader, Mr. J. Bach, in the year 1898, before he set out on a new trip to north Mato Grosso. Since that time no word has been had of him, not even in the bosom of his family; there is no doubt that he has perished in the course of his exploration. We believe that we are complying with the wishes of the one who has disappeared by publishing his notes on the little-known natives of Brazil. It has been necessary to correct these notes, which were written hastily, but no change has been made either in
197 content or arrangement. We note in passing that the Terena Indians belong, from the linguistic point-of-view to the Guaná Indians, and these in turn are of the Moxo-Aruak linguistic group.

[113] (See: Max Schmidt, "Guaná," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. XXXV, pp. 324-336, 560-604. 1903). (Robert Lehmann-Nitsche.)

/89 cont./

owned, with the exception of his vesture, which is inherited by his son, who carries on in power. /90/

Over the cacique's grave they build a small rancho of palm leaves, as a mark of distinction.

Cóchómonety or Cacique. The power of the cacique falls from fathers to sons. When the first son or daughter of the cacique is born, the latter, a few moments later, breathes into the mouth of the newborn, which signifies that at the age of 15, approximately, he will receive power and will be ordained to caciqueship, following his father in power as soon as the latter dies. When the heirs reach the age of 15, the cacique holds a big fiesta, for this calling together all the caciques of the other aldeas. Dressed in a simple julata and with his entire body painted in divers colors, the boy being honored is surrounded by all the invited caciques, who form a closed circle and go around and around the young man, singing for a period of two to three hours.

When this ceremony has ended they go on to eat and drink and the fiesta lasts from two to four days, that is, until the food and drinks are exhausted.

Astronomy. Each new moon is a month and 14 moons are a year. The sun is called paphúyty; the moon calipahú-quethy; the month paphuyty; the stars perphaty; the sky piphâyty; the earth piphéytó.

Aldeas. In the municipio of Miranda there exist approximately from 12,000 to 14,000 Terena Indians and a large number of aldeas, among which I cite only those that I visited, the main ones being those called: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipeque, Santa Ana, and Caytapé. All the aldeas show the same type of construction, which is rustic, the houses or ranchos consisting of thin walls of bamboo with a roof of straw or palm leaves. One aldea differs from another only in the greater or lesser number of ranchos.

Agachy Aldea. This aldea has 26 ranchos, the largest being from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide; it is inhabited by 367 Indians.

/91 cont./

796 of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days. In all the aldeas, in front of each rancho, they build a straw roof with two slopes two meters square and one meter 80 centimeters in height, supported upon six bamboos. Under this roof they fix a forked bamboo stick from which they hang a tuft of feathers and a gourd. They go in large groups from rancho to rancho, and half an hour at a time, singing and making noise with the gourd. On the fourth day, at dawn, they make a great racket with horns, shout, and set off powder; it is an awesome noise, so awesome that even the animals are frightened, accompanying the music with their cries and moans. The fifth day a masked man appears, with a little bag in his hand, acting clownishly and asking for contributions from all for the great banquet which they will all celebrate.

[534] Accompanied by music and by drums and flutes they celebrate the banquet and dances, which end on the seventh day with great libations.

541 Thadique. This is a very crude hand game, which consists of /92/ fisticuffs between men and between women, formed into two large teams which the caciques select, who also later break them up, since after a brief fight they all file off in good harmony.

526 Horse racing. From a piece of hide they make a horse, which they decorate with feathers and little rags, then mounting this horse as on a hobbyhorse. At about 35 meters from the point of departure they place a hoop and in the middle of this they hang a small dead bird, and they have to strike the bird with a small stiff, very sharp-pointed stick. They start off together, running at full tilt, the loser having to pay one bottle of caña, and the winner receiving two bottles of caña. This fiesta generally lasts two to three days and has no set time, being celebrated in each aldea at a different time.

535 Dances. I attended four different dances and all of them
[114] were very harmonious; all of them were accompanied by an
[534] orchestra of drums and flutes.

/92 cont./

535 orchestra of drums and flutes. In front of the dancers are lo-
622 cated two pairs of caciques, who witness the dance. They are accustomed to take part in the dance from the smallest Indian to the oldest; couples join up man with man and woman with woman, the men to the right and the women to the left of the music; when they arrive in front of the caciques, each pair is obliged to salute; the dance goes on in this way for three-
114 quarters of an hour. I witnessed this dance in Agachy, when 48 couples took part, all of whom danced keeping time well with the music.

In the second dance the pairs of men form an arc in front of the music, but with their backs to it. The couples of women pass through the middle of the arc, and when they come out of it they split up, one to the right and one to the left, reuniting in front of the caciques. In this way the dance went on for half an hour, the men passing once more before the caciques
114 for the defile. It was also in Agachy that I witnessed this dance.

114 The third dance, which I saw right there, was similar to the first, but the dancers carried in their hands bunches of flowers and branches of wild plants, with which they saluted when they passed in front of the caciques.

114 This fourth dance was witnessed by me in the aldea of Santa Ana. In front of the two pairs of caciques and four musicians with their drums and flutes, 22 couples formed up, men and women in equal parts. The dancers carried in their hands a piece of tacuara /a kind of bamboo/ more than one and one-half meters long. In files, the men to the /93/ right and the women to the left, and taking double steps to the rhythm of the music, they alternately struck the tacuaras against one another. This provided a pleasant sight; they did it so well and with such cleverness they seemed to be true artists. This dance lasted an hour and a half, without respite, leaving the dancers, on finishing, completely exhausted.